1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive [581] wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coñaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called koftun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coñaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, [845] and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Cofiaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Cofiaripe area. "A daughter 848 of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three 158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Cofiaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted 736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor- 593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alepée boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted.

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers.

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash.

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child.

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand while cutting, as other women do with the right hand."

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house.

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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727 597 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the following: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people. A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. Here I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me come to his home in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 12 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnaped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interpreter noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martin de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and liked it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 271), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (piche wentru); a girl, "little woman" (piuchi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer. "That boy was given the name of Salustiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of its parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Traipe; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-